

Political Orientation of Nahdatul Ulama After Muhtamar IX

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Abstract—*Nahdatul Ulama (NU) is currently the largest Muslim-based community organization in Indonesia. Looking at the historical view, that NU used to be a political party, even winning the election in Sidorajo, East Java. This study uses a methodological approach of history to see the uniqueness of NU in winning the election in 1955. Authentic documents and in-depth interviews were conducted to gain a past representation far beyond the discourse that developed in society.*

Keywords— *NU, Politics, and Islam*

I. INTRODUCTION

The formation of modern organizations both of education and religion formed after the policy of the Dutch East Indies colonial government at the beginning of the 20th century, the policy is known as ethical politics 1901. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) religious community organization (NU), is an organization that was formed since the colonial period of Indies Netherlands. Many Indonesian scientists are studying about NU, among them are, Abdurrahman Wahid, Mahrus Irsyam, Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Choirul Anam, Arif Mudatsir, Masdar Mas'udi, Ali Haidar and Kacung Marijan. They have much to do with contemporary issues and their culture and ideology. Studies of NU in historical perspective are few and far between. As a religious organization that has a large number of members and almost every city and district have stewardship up to the district and village levels, many people consider NU as an established organization.[1]

In the historical event, NU was not the only organization born during the Dutch East Indies colonial administration, but there were also similar organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Persatuan Islam (Persis), Al-Irsyad. NU is an organization that departs from the role and influence of traditionalist cleric. The formation of the NU was the result of the agreement of some traditional scholars conducted in Surabaya on January 31, 1926. Greg Fealy in his "Ijtihad Politics of NU History Scholars of 1952-1967" the background of the formation of NU organization is the conflict between traditionalists and modernists. Such conflicts are the modernists considered threatening the religious authority of the traditionalist cleric, such as the success of the modernists recruiting traders and landlords in several small towns of East and Central Java. For the

traditionalist cleric, traders and landlords are the economic basis of (school) pesantren and cleric families, which can threaten the coffers of the traditionalist cleric economy.[2]

The most obvious conflict, was when deciding on the representation of the Dutch East Indies in the Islamic World Congress held in Mecca in 1926. The traditionalists, worried about not having the opportunity to become representatives in the activity. On that basis, Wahab Chasbullah, through the approval of Hasyim Asj'ari, invited the leading clerics from traditionalist circles to his home in Surabaya on January 31, 1926. The meeting had two aims: first, to ratify the creation of the Hijaz Committee which would send a delegation to the congress in Mecca . Second, establish Nahdhalatul Ulama as a representation of traditionalist Islamic organization.[3]

The formation of NU organization is in an effort to prevent the threat of modernists, so that there is a need to accommodate, develop and coordinate the response of tradersionalists. In its stewardship structure, NU has the structure of *Shuroh* and *Tanfidzhiyah* Council. The membership of the Syuro Council is dominated by the scholars. Cleric became the patron's power in terms of legitimizing any decisions NU produced.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

In making historiography, there is a methodology that needs to be done so that the results become a work that are close to objectivity. Methods in scientific systems can be interpreted as tools or tools used by historians in discussions and history. According to Prof. Aminuddin Kasdi, Some Process History method includes first Heuristics (Greek: *heureskein*-to find, which means find). At the heuristic stage, or attempt to gather evidence or history. Historical sources are sorted into two, namely primary and secondary.[4]

To that end, the sources used are the NU Museum of East Java, the NU office of Sidoarjo branch, the Library of PBNU, the Institute for Human Resource Development (LAKPESDAM) of East Java, the Archives of Surabaya and the Sidoarjo Regency, the National Library, the Press Museum in Solo. As for most of the supporting books obtained from, Surabaya Library, Sidoarjo Library, East

Java Library, Office of Planning and Regional Development of East Java (BAPPEDA). In addition, written sources, in the making of this essay the author will also conduct interviews with appropriate issues about the title of this study. Interviews conducted online, can be done easily.[5]

The second stage is the critics, namely activities to verify primary sources, through testing authenticity, validity, originality and relevance to the theme of the research. This is done by way of selection of news and the year in accordance with the events that occur. For spoken language done with witnesses, who understands about this topic, with their credibility.

The stage which is the interpretation, at this stage, can be done to find the relevance between who has obtained information from archives, newspapers, books, and interviews. The last stage is a challenge or historiography, this thing that needs to be put forward is a chronological aspect. This writing is more descriptive, narrative and analytical. In this case the author not only uses history, but also will conduct an analysis of the event.[4]

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Early in the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, the government gave the opportunity for the formation of political parties, through the Notice of Vice President. X dated 3 November 1945. NU's involvement in the realm of political politics began when Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia) officially became a political party in November 1945. NU only survived in Masyumi membership for 7 years, on 31 July 1952 NU officially broke away from the Masyumi, and organized himself as a political party under the name of the Nahdlatul Ulama Party on 30 August 1952. Some of the reasons behind the NU out of Masyumi are as follows:

1. The Fourth Masyumi Congress in Yogyakarta in December 1949, resulted in a decision limiting the political role of the Masjumi Assembly of Syyan (Advisory Council) which was then chaired by Wahab Chasbullah.
2. At the time of the congress also rejected NU's demands on the transformation of Masyumi into a federation. The reason for NU with the change being federation can ensure a more proportional division of power.
3. Masyumi rejects NU's demand for the post of Minister of Religion. At that time NU proposed four names of candidates of the Minister of Religion namely, KH. Masjkur, KH. Fathurrahman Kafrawi, Musta'in and Mohammad Machien. However, the result of DPP Masyumi dated March 26, 1952, just won Fakhri Usman (Muhammadiyah candidate).

The exit of NU from Masyumi, also can not be separated from ideological conflict, between traditionalist and modernist. Arbi Sanit in his work *The Indonesian Political System: The Stability of the Map of Political Strength and Development*, basically the ideological factor becomes the main base of contention between the parties in Indonesia. The difficulty of establishing cooperation among the party elite towards the consensus is due to the very thickness of the ideological ties. Dr. Alfian in his work

Ideology, Idealism and National Integration, ideological conflicts occur, if there is no right balance point or consensus between different groups and groups.

The first elections in 1955, followed by 37,875,299 voters from 43,104,464 eligible voters, managed to place 28 political parties, organizations and individuals. In addition to the NU Party, there are five Islamic parties, namely Masyumi, PSII (Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia), Perti (Movement of Tarbiyah Islamiyah), PPTI (Political Party Tarikat Islam). Constitutionally, the Articles of Association of the NU Party is based on Islamic religion and aims to:

1. Enforcing Islamic Sharia with one of the Four Schools; Hanafi, Maliki, Sja'fi'I, and Hambali.

2. Seek the enforcement of Islamic Laws in society with the provision that these principles and objectives are not contradictory to the principle and purpose of the State, and the program does not undermine the principle and purpose of the State.

In 1955 the first general election was held, the NU party became the third winner with 18.41% of votes. Recorded the number of eligible voters as many as 43,104,464, but who gave the right of vote as much as 37,875,299. The level of voter participation in the first election reached 87.65%, with the total population of Indonesia at that time as much as 77.987.879. The result of the vote of the NU Party in the 1955 elections was an extraordinary thing. An increase in votes that initially had only 8 seats in the DPRS then increased to 45 seats or about 3% to 18%. The NU party, initially predicted to be unlikely to get a big vote from constituents, with limited budgets and party figures whose political capabilities are still under Masyumi, proved its ability to come across as a major force in the national political map. With the vote NU is no longer under the shadow of Masyumi modernists.[2]

According to Dr. H. Achmad Patoni, M.Ag, the success of NU in politics can not be separated from the influence and role of Kiai Pesantren. NU has many politically oriented traditional kiai, they are spread almost evenly in some areas, especially in East Java which at that time even today is the basis of pesantren, such as Madura, Sidoarjo, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Bondowoso, Sitobondo, Jember. So that in the 1955 Election, East Java is the granary of the NU party. The total vote of NU in East Java, in the 1955 Election reached 3,370,554 or about 34.1% with the number of seats 20.[5]

The success of the NU Party in East Java was a success in the role of NU branches in the province. The success of a political party earns its vote depending on the political machinery that exists in the regions. Indeed, an established institutional structure for political transformation to the bottom (grass root) is required. The NU Party of East Java in 1955 already has 38 branches. One of the branches that became the granary of votes in the 1955 election was the NU Branch of Sidoarjo. The vote for the House of Representatives in the district of Sidoarjo, the total votes of the NU Party reached more than 102,578. The voting process made the NU Party ranked first, followed by the PKI with 53.321 votes and 25,572 Masyumi, voters who voted for 245,437 voters.

As a newly formed political party three years prior to the 1955 General Election, the NU Superintendent strived to maximize socialization to the branches that NU had left Masyumi and established the NU party and was ready to become the party participating in the 1955 election. The NU Branch of Sidoarjo, also withdrawing NU members from Masyumi, from sub-district to village level. It is not easy to convince members to remain loyal to a party, it needs various efforts, including political communication between the elite and grass root. In addition, the organization is required existence so that members are able to perform the organization functions optimally.[2]

A. FORMATION OF DPRDS SIDOARJO

After the issuance of Government Regulation No: 39 of 1950, the local government of Sidoarjo strives to establish an institution DPRDS. Through the Regent of Sidoarjo, which at that time was led by R. Sriadi Kertosuprojo formed the Organizing Committee of the Preparation of DPRD of Sidoarjo Regency. In the formation of the committee, R. Sriadi was assisted by representatives of political parties, labor, peasant, youth, women and social organizations with personnel. Finally successfully formed the committee drafting Sidoarjo DRPRD which amounted to 10 people.

The preparation committee is moving quickly by registering and organizing organizations in each sub-district. From the list of organizations that have been included in the drafting committee, then the committee verifies the list of organizations that have entered it. Organizations that have passed the verification shall be entitled to nominate candidate members of DPRDS. On October 23, 1950, the organizing committee succeeded in forming DPRDS Sidoarjo. The establishment was conducted in Pendopo (city hall building) of Sidoarjo Regency, by appointing 28 members of DPRDS.

After the DPRDS members were established, one week afterwards the inauguration was held on 31 October 1950. With the formation of members of DPRDS, the task of the Organizing Committee for the Compilation of the Regional House of Representatives of Sidoarjo Regency has ended. The period of duty performed by the committee, not up to one year. This shows the political expectations of society is very high. Moreover during the old order, the government gave freedom in determining the political direction. Through these political parties and organizations, society tries to actualize its political spirit.[6]

Members of the DPRDS held its first session on 31 October 1950, the agenda at the hearing was to elect the chairman and deputy chairman of the DPRDS and DPDS members. In the session, the leadership of DPRDS and members of DPDS Sidoarjo for the period of 1950-1955 took place.

B. CONFLICT BETWEEN NU AND MASYUMI

After the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, three months after that precisely on November 3, 1945 the government gave the people the opportunity to form a political party. The opportunity to form a political party, contained in the

declaration signed by Vice President Mohammad Hatta. In the political arena of post-independence Indonesia, Muslims have various channels of political channels, such as: NU, PSII, EXACTLY, Muhammadiyah, and PERTI, but there is agreement to form a single container as a means of struggle to accommodate and channel his political aspirations. The container is Masyumi (Majelis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia). This agreement was adopted by the Indonesian Muslim Congress (KUII) in Yogyakarta on 7-8 November 1945. There are two important decisions in KUII:

1. Masyumi is the only Islamic political party in Indonesia.
2. The Islamic Party outside Masyumi is not recognized.

Masyumi was the largest political party in Indonesia in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The membership structure of the Masjumi is divided into collective (special) and individual members, N.U is a collective member of Masyumi. However, within four years' time there is an internal conflict. Conflict is one of them due to competition for the position between party elements. The divisions within Masyumi's most obvious are the ideological conflicts between traditionalist and modernist groups. In this case N.U is the largest traditionalist organization within Masyumi's body, so N.U is a collective member who plays a major role in ideological disputes.[3]

The first conflict between N.U and Masyumi, when the results of the 1949 Masyumi congress, limited the space for Syria Council led by Kiai Haji Wahab Chasbullah. Initially, the council of Syurah who served the cleric acted as legislative, then changed its role as advisor. So the Syuro board has no direct role in the decision making of Masyumi. At the congress also, led Natsir occupy the chairman of the DPP Masyumi. The executive management of the DPP Masyumi has 14 members, and in that composition, N.U only has 2 members representation. NU protested the change of the role of scholars who only became advisors. However, the protest did not get a response by Natsir.

D. NU BECOMES A POLITICAL PARTY

N.U officially broke away from Masyumi through the mechanism of the NUU Forum N-19 results in Palembang, and was legally formal through a joint statement between N.U and Masyumi. On May 19, 1952, the branch of N.U Sidoarjo conveyed the decision of the Congress and the Instruction of PB.N.U to all members of the branch and members of N.U branch of Sidoarjo through letter no: 140/236 / Tf / 52, on Member Guidelines. In the letter the head of the branch told to all members of NU Sidoarjo, to really understand about the guidance of members.

After the results of the 19th conference delivered to all members of NU including members of the DPRDS Sidoarjo faction Masyumi. Five months later on October 1, 1952, the branch leader delivered PBNU instructions addressed to all NU members regarding the posturing of NU PB after leaving Masyumi. There are six

Besides addressed to the leaders of twigs and N.U members, the branch leaders also sent the result of the 19th Congress ruling to the young chairman of the parliamentary fraction of Masyumi DPRDS and members of the Nahdlatul Ulama district parliament. Special DPRDS N.U is expected

to hold a separate meeting on the decision of the Congress.[2]

the principal instructions contained in the PCNU outgoing letter no: 162/258 / Tf / 52. As for the contents of the instructions are:

1. After the end of October 1952, members of N.U who concurrently in the management of Masyumi, must have been able to choose to become a member of N.U or Masyumi and the choice is not based on compulsion.
2. It is anticipated to immediately complete the formation of N.U branches in each region, and expect the completion planning to be completed within two months.
3. It is anticipated to hold the Conference of the Branch Representative Assembly, primarily to discuss the consolidation of N.U.
4. Immediately reorganize N.U organization both at branch and branch level, by:
 - a. Affects member books.
 - b. Inaugurate the N.U board composition in the branches and branches.
5. Rebuild N.U membership by:
 - a. Rearrange the cash book of twigs and branches.
 - b. Mobilize twigs to collect contributions from members.
 - c. Sending the contribution result as it should, from branch to branch and from branch to PBNU.
6. It is expected that every month once held a joint meeting of the management of Suriyah-Tanfidzyah-Muslimat-Ansor, both in branches and branches.[5]

After receiving the instruction of PBNU, on 18 and 19 October 1952 the branch leadership held the 6th Branch Conference. The event was held at the madrasah building jl. Cursed no: 33 Sidoarjo. The agenda is to discuss PBNU letters and internal consolidation. Because the activity is important and great then also attended by Consul PBNU East Java. The activity committee sends the activity license and the installation of activity banners, to the Chief of State Police R.I. Sidoarjo regency on October 10, 1952.[6]

IV. CONCLUSION

After the congress then PCNU Sidoarjo has been ready to become a political party with the name of Party N.U Sidoarjo branch. So from then on N.U Sidoarjo build a political. nu performs the party functions up to Soeharto's post-G 30 PKI post-Soeharto policy which reduces the political party in Indonesia to two parties and 1 group. container independently. Prior to political and governmental affairs, N.U Sidoarjo had a Masyumi container, after N.U came out of Masyumi then the NU Party was formed to fulfill and fight for the goals of N.U within the Governments, the House of Representatives and in all societies.

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